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FM AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6103
USDOC WASHDC
INFO AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY KIGALI
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USIA WASHDC 3249
SECDEF WASHDC
DIA WASHDC
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
USCENTCOM MACDILL AFB FL

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 KAMPALA 00184

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SUBJECT: MEETING WITH MUSEVENI.

11. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

12. INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY:

AMBASSADOR ACCOMPANIED BY PAO MET WITH UGANDAN PRESIDENT YOWERI MUSEVENI FOR ALMOST TWO HOURS AT STATE HOUSE ENTEBBE JANUARY 15. THE MAJORITY OF THE MEETING CONCENTRATED ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND NRA USE OF "3-PIECE TIE". AMBASSADOR DESCRIBED HIS EFFORTS TO ENCOURAGE US TRADERS TO JOIN IN BARTER TRADE WITH UGANDA. MUSEVENI WELCOMED US WILLINGNESS TO RESPOND TO RECENT PL-480 REQUEST. THE PRESIDENT CLAIMED THAT DESPITE SOME RECENT SHARP ENGAGEMENTS WITH UNLA REMNANTS IN THE NORTH, HE FELT THAT THE SECURITY SITUATION IN THE NORTH WAS QUICKLY COMING UNDER CONTROL. THE PROBLEM COULD BE AT AN END WITHIN TWO MONTHS. THE PRESIDENT CASTIGATED THE FOREIGN MINISTRY FOR ITS INEPTITUDE IN ATTEMPTING TO ARRANGE A VISIT FOR HIM TO THE UNITED STATES LAST YEAR, AND ASKED THE AMBASSADOR'S ASSISTANCE IN PROPERLY WORKING OUT A VISIT TO WASHINGTON AND A CALL ON PRESIDENT REAGAN THIS FALL. END SUMMARY.

13. HUMAN RIGHTS:

THE AMBASSADOR NOTED THAT UGANDA HAD SUFFERED A "HANGOVER" FROM THE HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES OF THE AMIN AND OBOTE PERIODS AND THAT IN RECENT MONTHS THE SPECIAL HUMAN RIGHTS SCRUTINY THAT HAD BEEN APPLIED BY THE USG TO THINGS SUCH AS MULTI-LATERAL DEVELOPMENT BANK LOANS TO UGANDA HAD EASED AS A RESULT OF THE IMPROVED HUMAN RIGHTS PERFORMANCE OF THE NRM GOVERNMENT. THE USG WOULD CONTINUE TO FOLLOW THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN UGANDA CLOSELY AND HOPED THAT THE FORMER SENIOR MEMBERS OF GOVERNMENT WHO HAD BEEN ARRESTED ON TREASON CHARGES WOULD SOON COME TO TRIAL AND RECEIVE THE FULL PROTECTION OF THE LAW DURING THE HEARING OF THEIR CASES. THE PRESIDENT SAID THERE NEED NOT BE ANY FEAR ON THAT SCORE AS THE TRIALS WOULD TAKE PLACE SOON. HE ADDED THAT IF THERE WAS NOT ENOUGH EVIDENCE TO BRING A PARTICULAR CASE TO TRIAL THE INDIVIDUAL CONCERNED WOULD BE RELEASED. BASED UPON HIS MONITORING OF THE INVESTIGATION SO FAR, HE FELT THAT THERE WOULD BE ENOUGH EVIDENCE TO BRING SOME TO TRIAL, WHILE OTHERS IN CUSTODY WOULD BE RELEASED BECAUSE OF INSUFFICIENT EVIDENCE.

14. THE AMBASSADOR SAID HE WAS DISTURBED TO HEAR THAT THE NRA WAS USING THE "3-PIECE TIE" IN THE NORTH AS A MEANS OF EXTRACTING INFORMATION DURING THE INTERROGATION OF PRISONERS. MUSEVENI ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE 3-PIECE TIE WAS BEING USED AND WONDERED WHY IT SHOULD CONCERN OUTSIDE OBSERVERS. THE AMBASSADOR REPLIED THAT THE INFLECTION OF PAIN TO ELICIT INFORMATION FROM A DETAINEE WAS TORTURE AND A VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, ADDING THAT HE HAD HEARD OF CASES WHERE GANGRENE HAD DEVELOPED AND ARMS HAD TO BE AMPUTATED AS A RESULT OF THE USE OF THE 3-PIECE TIE. MUSEVENI PROTESTED THAT IF PROPERLY APPLIED THE 3-PIECE TIE SHOULD NOT RESULT IN SUCH INJURY. HE WENT ON TO CLAIM THAT WITHOUT ITS USE

THE NRA WOULD BE SEVERELY HAMPERED IN BRINGING PEACE TO TESO AND SOUTH KARAMOJA WHICH WERE CURRENTLY BEING PLAGUED BY ARMED RUSTLERS. "I DON'T LIKE CRUELTY BUT WE MUST HAVE TOUGHNESS," CONTINUED THE PRESIDENT. "THESE PEOPLE ARE USED TO A ROUGH LIFE; THEY ARE NOT PUNISHED BY BEING LOCKED UP. IF YOU'RE NOT TOUGH WITH LAWLESS ELEMENTS, THE LAW ABIDING FEAR TO TALK. IF YOU JUST USE VERBAL INTERROGATION, IT WON'T GET ANYWHERE." THE AMBASSADOR SAID THAT THE USE OF TORTURE COULD NOT BE RATIONALIZED BY CLAIMS THAT IT WAS USED IN THE PURSUIT OF A "GOOD CAUSE." "THE 3-PIECE TIE IS A FORM OF TORTURE AND CLEARLY A HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSE WHICH IF CONTINUED BY THE NRA WILL SERIOUSLY UNDERMINE THE FAVORABLE HUMAN RIGHTS REPUTATION WHICH HAD BEEN ESTABLISHED BY THE NEW NRM GOVERNMENT."

15. IN RESPONSE TO MUSEVENI'S REQUEST THAT THE AMBASSADOR DEFINE TORTURE THE AMBASSADOR SAID HE WOULD BE HAPPY TO OBTAIN A PRECISE DEFINITION FROM THE HUMAN RIGHTS EXPERTS IN WASHINGTON, BUT THAT AS FAR AS HE WAS CONCERNED THE INFLECTION OF PAIN TO ELICIT INFORMATION WAS CLEARLY TORTURE AND A HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATION. THE PRESIDENT REJOINED THAT HE WAS NOT INTERESTED IN HURTING ANYONE BUT SIMPLY WANTED TO BRING STABILITY. THERE WAS A CULTURAL DIFFERENCE BETWEEN UGANDA AND THE WEST. THE PRESIDENT ASSERTED THAT IF HE TRIED TO USE MORE HUMANE METHODS HE WOULD BE SWIMMING AGAINST THE TIDE OF POPULAR OPINION. THE POPULAR VIEW IS THAT THIEVES SHOULD BE HURT. MOST PEOPLE BELIEVE THE LEGAL MACHINERY IS HOPELESS AND AS A CONSEQUENCE TAKE THE LAW INTO THEIR OWN HANDS. THE AMBASSADOR SAID HE DID NOT WANT TO BELABOR THE POINT BUT IF THE NRA PERSISTED IN THE USE OF THE 3-PIECE TIE THE GOVERNMENT'S CLAIM THAT THEY WERE TRULY DIFFERENT FROM PREVIOUS UNPOPULAR REGIMES WOULD HAVE A HOLLOW RING.

16. COMMENT: MUSEVENI'S ATTEMPT TO LIGHTLY DISMISS AND THEN DEFEND THE USE OF THE 3-PIECE TIE WAS DISAPPOINTING AND SOMEWHAT DISTURBING. BASED ON HIS REACTIONS, I SUSPECT THAT OUR INTERVENTION WAS THE FIRST TIME HE HAD BEEN SERIOUSLY CHALLENGED ON IT. THE EMBASSY WILL BE APPROACHING OTHER EMBASSIES AND MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT TO REINFORCE THIS DEMARCHE TO THE PRESIDENT.

17. BARTER TRADE:

THE AMBASSADOR SAID HE WOULD NOT REVIEW THE OBVIOUS LIMITATIONS OF THE BARTER TRADE AS IT ALREADY HAD BEEN DISCUSSED IN DETAIL WITH MANY MINISTERS. HE SIMPLY WANTED THE PRESIDENT TO KNOW THAT IF HIS GOVERNMENT WAS HELL-BENT ON PURSUING THIS FORM OF TRADE, HE WANTED HIM TO KNOW THERE WERE A NUMBER OF AMERICAN FIRMS ENGAGED IN THIS TYPE OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY AND THAT THE GOVERNMENT MIGHT FIND IT MORE ADVANTAGEOUS TO DEAL WITH THEM THAN TO PURSUE SOME OF THE GOVERNMENT-TO-GOVERNMENT DEALS CURRENTLY BEING DISCUSSED. THE AMBASSADOR MENTIONED THAT ONE OF THE FRUSTRATIONS IN TRYING TO ASSIST AMERICAN COMPANIES, SUCH AS GENERAL MOTORS, WHO WERE INTERESTED IN GETTING INVOLVED IN BARTER TRADE WITH UGANDA WAS THE DIFFICULTY OF OBTAINING GOOD INFORMATION ON THE TYPES AND QUANTITIES OF COMMODITIES UGANDA COULD MAKE AVAILABLE FOR BARTER. REFERRING TO THE CIVIL SERVANTS IN THE VARIOUS MINISTRIES, THE PRESIDENT SAID "THESE FELLOWS ARE NOT SERIOUS" AND THEN INSTRUCTED HIS PERSONAL ASSISTANT TO SEND THE AMBASSADOR THE REQUESTED INFORMATION. THE AMBASSADOR MENTIONED THAT AN AMERICAN BARTER TRADING FIRM, THE IBE CORPORATION OF NEW YORK, WOULD BE SIGNING AN AGREEMENT-WITH THE MINISTRY OF COMMERCE WHICH WOULD? P?OIDE THE FRAMEWORK (E.G., SWING CREDIT ARRANGEMENTS) FOR THEM TO TRADE WITH UGANDA. IBE WOULD BE IN A POSITION TO PROVIDE FARM EQUIPMENT ON CREDIT AND THEN TAKE PAYMENT IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE TO LIQUIDATE THE DEBT. THE PRESIDENT BEAMED THAT THIS WAS EXACTLY THE TYPE OF DEAL HE WOULD LIKE TO FOSTER AND THANKED THE AMBASSADOR FOR ENCOURAGING AMERICAN FIRMS TO CONSIDER BARTERING WITH UGANDA.

18. U.S. ASSISTANCE:

THE AMBASSADOR NOTED THE PL-480 REQUEST RECENTLY RECEIVED FROM THE GOU, COMMENTING THAT IT WAS RECEIVING EXPEDITIOUS CONSIDERATION IN WASHINGTON. MUSEVENI ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THERE HAD BEEN AN EVOLUTION IN GOVERNMENT THINKING REGARDING

FOOD AID AND THAT THERE WAS NOW AN APPRECIATION THAT PL-480 COULD BE IMPORTANT IN MEETING NEAR-TERM FEEDING REQUIREMENTS, AS WELL AS IN GENERATING RESOURCES FOR LONGER-TERM DEVELOPMENT. THE AMBASSADOR COMMENTED THAT THE EMBASSY WAS FOLLOWING VERY CLOSELY GOVERNMENT'S DIALOGUE WITH THE WORLD BANK AND THE IMF ON ECONOMIC POLICY, EMPHASIZING THAT OUR LONGER-TERM ASSISTANCE PLANNING WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO ACCOMPLISH BEFORE GOVERNMENT REACHED SOME BASIC DECISIONS ON ECONOMIC POLICY (E.G., EXCHANGE RATE ADJUSTMENT). THE AMBASSADOR SHARED WITH MUSEVENI A COPY OF A DRAFT PLANNING CONCEPT PAPER PREPARED BY THE AID MISSION STATING THAT WHILE IT HAD NO APPROVAL OR STATUS IN WASHINGTON, WE WOULD LIKE TO USE IT AS A BASIS FOR DISCUSSING WITH GOVERNMENT ITS DEVELOPMENT OBJECTIVES AND PRIORITIES, AND HOW THE USG MIGHT BEST ASSIST. MUSEVENI SAID HE WOULD READ THE PAPER AND LOOKED FORWARD TO OPENING A DIALOGUE ON DEVELOPMENT PLANNING.

19. SUDAN SITUATION:

THE AMBASSADOR ASKED FOR MUSEVENI'S ASSESSMENT OF WHAT WAS HAPPENING IN THE SOUTHERN SUDAN AND WHETHER THERE WAS ANY USEFUL ROLE WHICH THE USG OR OTHER OUTSIDE PARTIES COULD PLAY TO BRING THE PARTIES TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE. MUSEVENI SAID HE DID NOT HAVE ANY RECOMMENDATION AT THIS TIME BUT THAT HE WOULD THINK ABOUT IT. HE SAID HE HAD ADVISED GARANG LAST YEAR TO TALK SERIOUSLY WITH THE GOVERNMENT IN KHARTOUM. AS FAR AS THE PRESIDENT WAS CONCERNED THE CONFLICT HAD TO BE SOLVED POLITICALLY; HE COMMENTED THAT HE THOUGHT THE SUDANESE GOVERNMENT WAS PARANOID ABOUT GARANG'S RELATIONSHIP WITH ETHIOPIA. GARANG WAS NOT IN ADDIS BECAUSE HE SUPPORTS THE ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT BUT RATHER BECAUSE THEY ARE HIS ONLY SUBSTANTIAL SOURCE OF SUPPORT. THE PRESIDENT SAID THE SUDANESE HAD MADE TWO FUNDAMENTAL ERRORS: THEY ASSERTED THAT THE SUDAN WAS AN ARAB NATION AND AN ISLAMIC COUNTRY.

10. SITUATION IN THE NORTH:

THE AMBASSADOR ASKED HOW THE FIGHTING IN THE NORTH WAS PROGRESSING AND MUSEVENI REPLIED THAT THE NRA'S RECENT OPERATIONS ALONG THE SUDANESE BORDER HAD BEEN SUCCESSFUL. THE UNLA REMNANTS LACKED A CENTRAL COMMAND, A COHERENT STRATEGY, AND POLITICAL PROGRAM. HE ADMITTED THAT THE REBELS HAD TAKEN THE NRA BY SURPRISE WHEN THEY ATTACKED LAST AUGUST BUT FELT THAT THE NRA NOW HAD ADEQUATE FORCES IN THE NORTH AND WAS IN A POSITION TO "FINISH THEM IN TWO MONTHS." HE OBSERVED THAT THE KEY PROBLEM IN TRYING TO PURSUE A NEGOTIATED END TO THE CONFLICT WAS THAT THE NRA WAS FACING PEOPLE WHO WERE "POLITICALLY PRIMITIVE." HE CLAIMED THAT EVIDENCE HAD RECENTLY COME TO THE NRA'S ATTENTION THAT THE UNLA FORCES WERE INVOKING WITCHCRAFT TO ENTHUSE THEIR FORCES. IT WAS NOT WORKING AND WAS LEADING TO THE LOPSIDED CASUALTY FIGURES IN THE NRA'S FAVOR.

11. MUSEVENI TRIP TO WASHINGTON.

WHEN THE AMBASSADOR ASKED IF THE PRESIDENT HAD ANY ISSUES HE WANTED TO RAISE, MUSEVENI SAID HE HAD BEEN EMBARRASSED AND ANGERED BY THE POOR ADVICE AND PERFORMANCE OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY WHEN IT RECOMMENDED HE VISIT WASHINGTON LAST YEAR. THAT SAID, THE PRESIDENT QUICKLY CONTINUED THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO VISIT WASHINGTON LATER THIS YEAR. THE AMBASSADOR NOTED THAT THE PRESIDENT WAS PLANNING TO ATTEND THE COMMONWEALTH MEETING IN CANADA AND WOULD PROBABLY ALSO BE INTERESTED IN ATTENDING THE UNGA. THOSE TWO EVENTS SUGGESTED A GENERAL TIMEFRAME FOR A VISIT TO WASHINGTON WHICH THE AMBASSADOR WOULD SO RECOMMEND TO HIS GOVERNMENT. THE AMBASSADOR ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT ARRANGING A MEETING WITH PRESIDENT REAGAN WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT AND COMMENTED THAT HE HAD BEEN DISAPPOINTED WHEN MUSEVENI DECIDED NOT TO TRAVEL TO THE UNITED STATES LAST YEAR, WHEN IT BECAME APPARENT THAT A MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE. A NUMBER OF VERY USEFUL MEETINGS WITH SENIOR MEMBERS OF THE ADMINISTRATION SHORT OF THE PRESIDENT, AND KEY FIGURES IN THE CONGRESS AND THE PRIVATE SECTOR COULD HAVE BEEN ARRANGED. ASSURING MUSEVENI THAT HE WOULD MAKE HIS BEST EFFORT TO TRY TO ARRANGE A CALL ON PRESIDENT REAGAN, THE AMBASSADOR ADDED THAT SHOULD IT NOT BE POSSIBLE,

A VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES TO MEET OTHER INFLUENTIAL PERSONALITIES IS STILL VERY MUCH IN HIS INTEREST.

¶12. COMMENT:

MUSEVENI OBVIOUSLY WANTS VERY BADLY TO VISIT WASHINGTON AND CALL ON THE PRESIDENT, AND FINDS IT HARD TO BELIEVE THAT IT IS SO DIFFICULT TO ARRANGE, ESPECIALLY AFTER HIS SUCCESSFUL TRIP TO EUROPE WHERE HE MET WITH PRIME MINISTER THATCHER, THE QUEEN, THE KING OF THE BELGIANS, THE POPE, ETCETERA. MUSEVENI KNOWS LITTLE OF THE WESTERN WORLD AND A VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES WOULD BE MOST BENEFICIAL. LET US START NOW TO TRY AND ARRANGE AN OFFICE CALL ON THE PRESIDENT WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF HIS TRAVEL TO NORTH AMERICA IN THE FALL.

HOUDEK